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New South

AN EDUCATOR'S VIEW OF SEGREGATION

Chester C. Travelstead

CAN ONE DEBATE CONTROVERSY?

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS

Harry V. Richardson

THE SOUTHERN SCENE

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New South NOTES

It is extremely difficult for men of courage and integrity to speak out for right and justice in some parts of the deep South today. Not only is the Southern Negro threatened with loss of livelihood if he advocates supporting the Supreme Court, but white ministers, educators, and others risk the loss of their positions when they call for a sane solution to the segregation problem. NEW SOUTH, this month, presents a portion of a speech that cost one Southern white educator his job. Included also is an editorial from a student newspaper condemning a policy which penalizes a man who speaks his mind.

Also in this issue is a portion of a speech by Dr. Harry V. Richardson, a Negro churchman and educator, in which he outlines the basic desires of the Negro population in the South today.

Articles on activity concerning the segregation problem in the South now are daily occurrences in newspapers. However, for lack of space and other reasons, many of these stories do not get full treatment in the newspapers and some are left out entirely. NEW SOUTH presents in this issue some events of particular interest to its readers. Some of the events are negative, of course; but the number of people who are speaking out for equality is increasing at a gratifying rate. In "Activity on the Southern Scene," NEW SOUTH gives a look at some of these forthright people and comments briefly on those events reflecting the negative activity of the perennial Southern racist.

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By CHESTER TRAVELSTEAD

An Educator's View of the Segregation Problem

The problem of integrating the races in our public schools is unprecedented for those of us who were born and raised in the southern states. It is a crucial problem in South Carolina today. Educators and laymen in this state are faced with the necessity of making important decisions related to this matter. The time has passed, it seems to me, for us to hide our heads in the sand and ignore the existence of the problem.

I must say in the beginning that I have been surprised and disappointed that the education profession in South Carolina has made no public statement giving its views on this matter. I have seen nothing in print, nor have I heard any official pronouncements from any of the official education organizations, including the State Board of Education, concerning their positions on this question. Neither have I any way of knowing the reactions of these organizations to the recommendations of the Gressette Committee and the resulting action taken by the 1955 South Carolina legislature concerning segregation in the schools. I must add that I do not consider the Gressette Committee representative of the education profession in South Carolina. It is a legislative committee appointed to advise the governor and the

Dr. Chester C. Travelstead was dismissed from his position as dean of the School of Education of the University of South Carolina after having made a speech on August 2, 1955, discussing eight problems of education. The speech included the portion printed here on segregation, which Dr. Travelstead dealt with as one of the major problems of educators today.

Previously, Dr. Travelstead had written a personal letter to South Carolina's Governor George Bell Timmerman, in which he disagreed with one of the governor's pronouncements on segregation.

Following his dismissal from the University of South Carolina, Dr. Travelstead said he was given to believe that the dismissal was because of the speech. Just prior to his dismissal, he had been praised for his management of the school and had been given a raise in salary.

Dr. Travelstead now is serving as dean of education at the University of New Mexico.

legislature on a particular problem in education.

Deserves Discussion

In the absence of such statements from the professional organizations, we cannot know how the members of these organizations feel about this problem. Perhaps one would say that silence indicates concurrence with action being taken but of course this may or may not be true. Silence can in some cases indicate opposition, coupled with a great reluctance to speak one's views — reluctance because of fear of embarrassment, ridicule, or reprisal. Be that as it may, it seems imperative to me that this or any other issue of so great import deserves and demands public discussion.

It is my firm conviction that enforced segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis — and should, therefore, be abolished as soon as practicable. Even though, as a white southerner, I have, since my early childhood, taken for granted the practice of segregation, I can find now no justification for it. As I study the Judeo-Christian concept prevalent in western civilization; as I examine the bases of our own government — the Bill of Rights and all other pronouncements of our forefathers — I find nothing which requires, justifies, or even allows a notion of second-class citizenship for any group. I find no conclusive evidence that any one group of men is foreordained to be superior or inferior to other groups of men. I even find that this notion of race and national superiority came to a ruinous end in Nazi Germany. For races or nations of men to think and act upon the assumption that theirs is the superior race or nation and that all other groups are inferior is to invite disaster and downfall. None of the great religions dictates such a creed. Instead, all of them say, in essence, that each man and woman is judged according to his own beliefs and acts. The fact that we have practiced segregation on the assumption that it was right and just, does not *make* it right and just. Dr. John Hardin Marion, Pastor of Bon Air Presbyterian Church in Richmond, Virginia, said here recently in his baccalaureate sermon to the University of South Carolina faculty and senior class, that having done a thing — even over a long period of time — does not mean necessarily that it is right. He said we need constantly to analyze our beliefs and practices to see if they are consistent and if they are supported by all available information related to these beliefs and practices. To make such analyses of our actions is difficult — even quite frustrating — but still it is probably necessary if we are to move forward and upward rather than to retrogress.

Legal Side

Besides one's own personal beliefs in this matter, there is the legal side of the question of segregation. All peace-loving and law-abiding citizens believe that the laws of the state and of the nation should be respected and obeyed, in spite of the fact that every law seems unjust or unnecessary to some people. In the present case the highest court of our land has said that the practice of segregation of races in the schools is unconstitutional. This court is referring to the Constitution of the United States, which most of us at one time or another have sworn to defend. Our oath of allegiance to this constitution does not allow us the luxury of upholding it if and when we think it suits our purposes and tastes; rather does it require of us that we uphold it and obey it as it exists, having been

amended and interpreted through the years by our duly chosen bodies.

If we choose to maneuver and manipulate in order to circumvent these duly constituted agencies of law, how will we explain and justify this action to our children and to our children's children? Can we on Monday tell them to obey the law and have respect for the agencies of law and order, and then on Tuesday tell them they don't need to obey the law, that it is right to circumvent the law as long as they don't get caught? Our recent action in South Carolina and in several other southern states seems to be an attempt to circumvent the law, but so to do it that we "won't get caught."

Education takes place in many ways. Our children can be educated to deceit and chicanery, as well as they can be educated to integrity and loyalty. This education, of course, is not confined to the schools or homes. These children learn from everything they see and hear. In this crucial matter which faces us all in 1955, our children will learn much by observation of our words and deeds. We certainly have an obligation to them in this respect.

One Answer

There comes to mind, of course, the question of what to do when parts of the state constitution are not in agreement with parts of the federal constitution. If one looks at this situation as a citizen of the United States, he can give only one answer. He must support the federal constitution. The three-judge court here in Columbia on the 15th of last month bore this out. These three judges of unquestioned integrity simply told the Summerton school district to make the necessary arrangements and then proceed forthwith toward desegregation. Irrespective of their personal opinion about this matter, these judges knew that the supreme law of the land must be upheld.

Recently, when the Attorney General of Kentucky was asked his opinion about the conflict of the Day Law of Kentucky requiring segregation of the races in the public and private schools of that state, and the recent rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States, he declared simply that the Kentucky law is now null and void. Governor Wetherby of Kentucky followed by saying, "We will do whatever is necessary to comply with the Supreme Court ruling."

Editorial

Such statements have not yet been made by state officials in South Carolina, but the fact remains that all South Carolina laws requiring segregation by race in the public schools are now null and void. In this connection, I would like to quote from a recent editorial in the Florence South Carolina, *Morning News*.

> Any changes we make in our program of education should be made in full acceptance of the fact that the South cannot maintain its policies of racial segregation for any length of time into the future.
>
> Since the Court's publication of its implementation decree, the Southland has been feeding itself large doses of self-delusion and false hope. Politicians, writers, wishful-thinkers and the unthinking have been telling our people that the Court's decree can be defeated and will be defeated.
>
> The Court's decree will not be defeated.
>
> South Carolina's people need to hear realism. They need to hear the truth. They need to prepare themselves for a realistic future constructed out of words and blind hopes of those who have not accepted the inevitable.

A federal judge in Texas last week ruled officially that the Texas laws requiring segregation of the races in the schools are now null and void. It is

reasonable to assume that judges in other states will make similar rulings very soon.

Positive Action

In some sections of the South boards of education have gone on record as agreeing with the Supreme Court decisions and as being willing to work toward an early implementation of these decisions. I cite only three of these:

1. In the summer of 1954 the Greensboro, North Carolina, Board of Education said in effect that it expected to work toward the gradual integration of the races in the schools of Greensboro. This statement followed the first Supreme Court ruling by a few weeks.
2. In June, 1955, the Board of Education at Newport News, Virginia, said in substance that it was in agreement with the ruling of the Supreme Court and it wanted to work toward carrying out that ruling on some reasonable basis.
3. In July, 1955, the Board of Education of San Antonio, Texas, announced that it plans to begin desegregation in public schools this fall. Superintendent Thomas Portwood said an end to segregation would be achieved by a gradual mixing of Negro and white children. He acted after the board directed him to proceed with "good faith compliance" with the Supreme Court ruling.

Still another aspect of this question of segregation is that of its implications for international relations. Even if all white people were personally in favor of segregation; even if the practice of segregation had not been declared illegal; one should still be keenly aware of the significance of this problem as the United States is trying so valiantly to gain the support of such countries as India, Egypt, and many other nations in Asia, Africa, Europe and South America. In our grave struggle against communism as a world power, we gain or lose prestige according to our practices back home, rather than by our words said abroad. World travellers, both natives of the United States and of other countries, tell us seriously and emphatically that our continued practice of segregation of the races in this country is jeopardizing our position in world affairs. This possibility is worthy of our serious consideration.

Alternatives

What are the alternatives? What are the choices we have in this matter: As we boil down the various possibilities with respect to this question, we have left four main alternatives. These might be stated very simply:

1. *Accept the Supreme Court decision wholeheartedly* and work sincerely toward its implementation.
2. *Reject completely the Court decision* and work persistently to keep our public schools segregated by attempting to circumvent, delay, and out-maneuver the law. This alternative might be accompanied by threatened economic boycott against anyone opposing racial segregation — a practice recently suggested by the Mississippi White Citizens Council. This Council also has the avowed purpose of discouraging Negro voting. (These two alternatives are not likely to get large followings).
3. *Agree upon and submit for the approval of the appropriate court a plan of "good faith compliance"* with the Supreme Court ruling. If followed, this step would probably be taken in each local community and school district in the state after due consideration by the local citizens. It would be a plan of gradual desegregation and integration, arrived at reluctantly but sincerely.
4. *Abolish our public schools* and attempt to set up private schools on a segregated basis.

The decision to take any one of these four courses will be a major one. The last two alternatives will probably get many followers in the initial stages of the decision making. Whatever plan is chosen will determine future direction of action in this matter. Therefore, such a decision by educators, community and state leaders should be made only after careful consideration of the possible consequences of each choice.

The third alternative, that of submitting some plan of "good faith compliance," is possible only if certain state laws are changed. I do not refer to the law requiring the segregation of the races in the schools, because that law is, in effect, already null and void. But I do refer to laws recently passed, such as the one cutting off all state money from any school district which assigns Negro and white children to the same school. Obviously a local school district cannot operate at this time without financial aid from the state. Such laws as this, passed by the 1955 legislature, constitute real obstacles to local school districts wishing to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. Of course, these laws were passed for this purpose, but they can be repealed if, after due consideration, most school districts decide they want to submit some plan of "good faith compliance" rather than abolish their public schools.

Consequences

The possible consequences which might follow the fourth alternative — that of abolishing the public schools — are many. First, we must ask ourselves if we are willing to turn back the clock on education more than a hundred years. Are the educators, parents, and the lay public willing to consider mass organization of private, parochial, and pauper schools, according to the prevalent custom in several of the Atlantic seaboard states in the 1820's and 1830's? Can we be at all sure that were we to decide to abolish the public schools and set up state-financed private schools on a segregated basis that the courts would not strike down this plan as unconstitutional? Are we at all sure that in 1960 and 1970 education with its increasing problems and student enrollment can be handled effectively through such a plan — if it were to be held legal? What about organization, standards, supervision in such a case? Who would educate the teachers and on what basis? Who would handle certification and on what basis?

Backbreaking Questions

These are but a few of the backbreaking questions that face us in case we decide to abolish public schools. Because of these and other reasons, most people do not want to abandon public schools, if it can possibly be avoided.

Wise men will go slow in this matter. Thinking men are not at all *certain* that abolishing the public schools will correct our troubles.

> Tommy's uncle was wont to give out bits of hard-headed advice to his young nephew.
>
> "Yes, Tommy," he said one day, "fools are *certain;* wise men hesitate."
>
> "Are you sure, Uncle John?" asked Tommy.
>
> "Yes, my boy, I'm certain of it!"

Charles F. Carroll, State Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Carolina, was quoted last week in an Associated Press story as saying that "Abandoning the public school system is not the answer to the question of racial segregation."

Carroll continued by adding, "One million children in whose hearts, minds and hands rest much of the destiny of this state, are innocent parties to this

segregation matter, and they must not become victims. Every American state views public education not as an option, but as an imperative."

The legality of abolishing the public schools would not be questioned if the state and local authorities made no attempt whatsoever to use public tax money for financing private education in any way. Certainly a private citizen or a group of private citizens could carry on a private school on a segregated basis. But just as soon as the state attempts to sell or give the buildings to these private citizens to be used for segregated schools — just as soon as the state or local school districts make available to individual parents or children money which is to be used for education on a private basis — the legality of such action will be challenged and tested in the courts. Since such a case has not yet appeared, one can only guess the outcome.

If public schools were abandoned, what would happen to teacher certification, supervision from the state level, and state-supported teacher education institutions? Nobody can predict with assurance the answers to many of these questions. In looking ahead, one can only be sure that we can expect many problems — difficult problems — to appear if we abolish the public schools.

Factors

Decisions concerning these matters must be made — and must be made soon. They will be determined by several factors, all of which will play important parts:

1. What we *may* do under federal law and what we are *directed* to do by federal authorities.
2. What we may and may not do under the state constitution and South Carolina statutes.
3. How our state leaders (governmental and educational) feel about what should be done and in what ways they encourage people to go.
4. How we as individual parents, teachers, adult citizens, and boys and girls feel about the direction we should go. *How we feel* could lead to the organization of "White Citizens Action Committee" such as the one organized recently in Harleyville, South Carolina. The chief purpose of this organization is "not to accept the Supreme Court's recent interpretation of our United States Constitution and to work actively to maintain a school on our present segregated basis — even to maintain a private school for our children."

Or, *how we feel* could lead us to hold conferences and discussion groups such as the three-weeks seminar held last month on the University of Kentucky campus. The purpose of this seminar was to study problems of desegregation in the schools of Kentucky.

Yes, *how we feel* today or how we discipline ourselves to feel tomorrow and next year will be one of the most potent factors of all. Because laws themselves are subject to how the public and its representatives feel about matters. Thus, laws can be made and laws can be repealed, according to how we as individuals and as groups feel about a thing.

In this connection, I would like to close with two quotations — one from Epictetus, the early Roman philosopher, and one from John Ruskin.

> Epictetus said: "In a word, neither death, nor exile, nor pain, nor anything of this kind is the real cause of our doing or not doing any action, but our inward opinions and principles."
>
> Ruskin said, and with this I close: "Doing is the great thing. For if, resolutely, people do what is right, in time they come to like doing it."

Is It Not Permissible To Debate Controversy?

From the University of S. C. Gamecock

The announcement by Dr. Chester Travelstead that he was dismissed as dean of the school of education following a speech in which he called for an end to public school segregation was a hard and definite blow to the University.

In a statement to *The Gamecock*, Dr. Travelstead said he was under the impression "that the Executive Committee (of the board of trustees) was of the opinion that persons employed by the University should not engage in discussions of controversial issue."

If the board of trustees is of such an opinion, we may as well all pack up and go home, for Webster calls a university "an institution for teaching and study in the higher branches of learning," and learning certainly includes examination and testing of ideas and thoughts. If University officials take it upon themselves to squelch people with ideas not coinciding with their own, then it is no place for students with intellectual curiosity.

However, the board of trustees, as far as we can determine, has never issued such a statement, but it is evident that integration is one subject which should not be discussed by a University employee.

And why not? It was permissible to discuss the question of admitting Red China to the United Nations — the topic was used as a national debate subject last year. It is permissible to speculate on who will run for president next year. It is permissible to discuss any number of world and national affairs, some of which directly affect South Carolina. All are controversial subjects, as is desegregation. Few controversies are ever settled without open discussion.

Dr. Travelstead said in his speech, "It is my firm conviction that enforced segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis — and should, therefore, be abolished as soon as practicable." He did not say today and he did not say tomorrow. He said "as soon as practicable," which is what is going to happen anyway. He said a lot of other things in his praise of the Supreme Court's decision and they made a great deal of sense.

Because of the University's action in dismissing Dr. Travelstead because he expressed a viewpoint, will open discussion on any controversy go underground with students and faculty alike afraid to express an opinion on anything more serious than the outcome of the soybean situation in China? And will the University in the midst of becoming a great university turn into an academic assembly line? Perhaps. — C. M.

What the Negro Wants

By HARRY V. RICHARDSON

In the face of Southern progress, segregation is becoming more and more ridiculous and irrational. We know now that we do not believe in the separation of the races. We simply practice the suppression and humiliation of one race, one group, to satisfy the distorted conceptions that some of us hold regarding our own superiority. Today in the colleges and schools of the South, there are Chinese, Japanese, Philippine, Indian and other students, all members of different races. Only one group is barred, and the members of that group are native Americans who have shed their blood in every war for the freedom and independence of their homeland.

Let us be clear. Here in the South we do not want Chinese colleges or Japanese colleges or Philippine colleges or schools or any of that. What we want is schools, good schools, to which every person who desires to learn may be able to go and to have open access to the wisdom of mankind.

We have made astounding progress in the last two decades, but we still have much to do. The millenium is not yet. We still have to fight the rabble rouser and irresponsible politicians who at every point have tried to hold progress back and who still are ready to sell the new South short. They are the ones who make it difficult for real statesmen to arise and survive in the South. They are the ones who tie politics to hatreds, who ride into office on the Negro's back and then turn around and kick him. They are the ones who play on our hatreds and lead us into acts of national disgrace. They are the ones who sell out Southern labor, who try to keep it divided into warring racial and class groups, and thus weak and ineffective against exploitation. These are the ones who distort issues and purposes, who try to mix up the normal economic and civic interests of people with a lot of sordid sexual mess.

Now there come certain latter day demagogues who try to identify their prejudice with the will of God, and who try to show that segregation is wholesome. But they don't deceive us. We know what they are doing. They are trying to put old stinks in new pots, but they still stink.

The great progress we have made in the past two decades has not been easy or automatic. It has come through the persistent labors of a long line of noble people, white and black, who have fought and are determined to keep on fighting in spite of smears and threats and pressures, in a battle that does not end.

What of the Negro in the new South?

In the past twenty years, two sharp changes have occurred in the Southern Negro's thinking. First, he is coming to feel that he can be proud of the South and proud of his Southern heritage. There was a time when we were ashamed, ashamed of the discriminations and humiliations we had to undergo here. When we traveled into other sections of America, people laughed at us or pitied us. They looked upon us

Dr. Harry V. Richardson is president of Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta. Here is a portion of a speech Dr. Richardson gave before the Hungry Club of Atlanta.

as unfortunate victims who couldn't escape from a concentration camp.

Change

This has changed. There are many reasons for it. The Negro has learned by experience that the South can be good, and by experience, too, that other sections can be bad. There isn't much need to run. Life involves struggle everywhere. The South has its problems, to be sure, but no one asks to be free from problems. All that we want is the certainty that solutions can be found, and that we have a chance to work toward solutions. That our problem can be solved is seen in the remarkable progress. Believe it or not, despite the noise of the rabble rousers, in the effort to overcome its difficulties, the South is one of the progressive sections of America today. To live in a section that is honestly trying to master its difficulties is a thrilling opportunity of which we can be proud.

The Negro is coming to be proud, too, of the contribution he has made to the South. Never forget that Negroes have been part and parcel of the South from the very beginning, arriving at Jamestown a year before the Mayflower landed at Plymouth. Black hands grew the cotton that constituted so much of the South's basic wealth. Black labor built the railroad beds and the roadways; black skilled craftsmen erected many of the grand old structures that are show places in the South today. Negro music, sacred and secular, has greatly enriched Southern art. The Negro's patience and deep human understanding, his facility at domestic service, his genius for child care, all helped to create a delightful culture on which Southerners still look back with longing eyes. It doesn't matter that the fruit of his labor was taken from him and that he never had a chance to enjoy it, or that sometimes it was used to keep him down. He has made a rich contribution to the South of which he can be justly proud.

Secondly, the Negro is deciding to stay at home, that is, to stay in the South. There was a time when his chief ambition was to buy a ticket North or West. That is changing now. He is coming to feel that the South is his, as Winston Churchill said, "by right of blood and sweat and tears." For an increasing number of Negroes, the days of flight are done. In spite of the activities of hate mongers and bigots, it is possible to build a good life here in his homeland, and he is determined to stay and to try.

I once heard of a Negro who was bitterly complaining about all the trouble he was having in Georgia. Someone asked him why he didn't leave and go somewhere else where things would be better. He had never thought of that. He scratched his head and finally said: "I'm not going anywhere. Georgia is hell, but it's home!"

Wants

As I close this paper, it seems well that we should set the record straight. What does the Negro want in his new Southland? In answer, I think it can be summed up in these four simple forms:

1. He wants that every Southern child shall be able to live and grow and learn *in the South*, without having the stigma of inferiority stamped on his skin or burned into his soul.
2. He wants the right to secure any kind of work of which he is capable, without being denied because of his skin.
3. He wants access to every public privilege or service to which a citizen is entitled, without having to crawl in through back doors or to stand behind screens like an outcast or a dog.
4. He wants an American's participation in the processes of his government, receiving all rights and protections, and bearing all responsibilities.

This is what he wants, this is all that he wants, and he believes that under God this is fair.

Activity on the Southern Scene

MONTGOMERY BOYCOTT

The December Newsletter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations gives an excellent account of the current boycott of Montgomery, Ala., city busses by Negroes.

The boycott, organized to secure better conditions for Negro patrons, shows signs of continuing until city and bus officials agree to a less discriminatory policy on the city busses.

The boycott began shortly after December 1, when Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, was arrested for refusing to give her seat to a white person. The boycott quickly grew until almost all the Negro patrons, who admittedly compose the highest percentage of bus patrons, supported the movement.

Negro leaders are asking the company for three concessions; and at the same time, they emphasize that this is not an attempt to break down segregation on the busses. They now are petitioning the bus company for (1) more courteous treatment from bus operators, (2) seating on a "first come, first serve" basis (seating now is by "reserved seat" sections), and (3) employment of Negro drivers on predominantly Negro lines as driver vacancies occur.

Bus company officials answer (1) no recent reports of discourtesies have been received, (2) failure to provide reserved sections for the races would not fulfill legal "separate but equal" requirements of the state (other Alabama cities have operated for years on the "first come, first serve" basis), and (3) the company will not hire Negro drivers within the next ten years or more.

As this article went to press, the boycott was more than a month old with Negro leaders asserting they will continue the boycott until "next summer or a year from now if necessary." Meanwhile, estimates place daily losses to the bus company at more than $3,000, and Montgomery retail sales at 30 to 35 per cent under season expectations. Bus company officials have asked the city commission to allow a temporary doubling of bus fares, both for regular passengers and school children, and a permanent suspension of free bus transfers. Prejudice and discrimination can be costly.

RECREATION RULING

Reaction in the South to the Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregation on Atlanta golf courses and in Maryland parks and beaches generally was good. Atlanta's Mayor William B. Hartsfield, after polling Southern cities which have integrated courses, opened the Atlanta courses without restriction. Since then, several Negro foursomes have played on Atlanta courses without incident.

Mayor Hartsfield's research on South-

ern cities also is interesting. On the Atlanta policy, he said, "Our action constitutes no precedent and is no bold departure from other Southern cities, many of which have long since met and solved this situation. Jacksonville, Nashville, Miami, Pensacola, and New Orleans have allowed Negroes on their public courses on specified days. Houston, Dallas, and Fort Worth, Texas, and Louisville, Kentucky, have been allowing Negroes to play on public courses at any time. White and colored are now playing on many baseball diamonds in middle and south Georgia."

In the border state of Maryland, officials went ahead with plans to comply with the ruling; and in Kentucky, the State Court of Appeals, on December 16, banned racial segregation in all public recreational facilities throughout the state. The Kentucky court cited the November 7 decision of the Supreme Court in the Maryland case.

In North Carolina, the formerly all-white golf course in Asheboro was opened to Negroes following the court ruling and continues to be operated without discrimination.

Greensboro, North Carolina, however, took adverse action following the ruling. After six Negroes played the "all-white" golf course there, the Greensboro City Council voted to sell the course to "private interests." The course previously had been operated on a lease basis. The City Council also voted to close the city-owned Negro course and convert it into an extension of the city dump. Meanwhile, trial for the six Negroes, who had been arrested on a charge of trespassing after playing the white course, has been postponed. Postponement came on motion of the solicitor, who said he had been informed that the defense had subpoenaed all city records pertaining to the white golf course.

MISSISSIPPI MUDDLE

Mississippi, as expected, came in for more limelight as white supremacists in the state attempted to bar a minister from speaking at the University of Mississippi. State leaders also attempted to block a junior college football team from playing in a bowl game against a team which included Negroes.

Whether racists will be successful in keeping the Reverend Alvin Kershaw from speaking on the Religious Emphasis Week program at the University of Mississippi still is indefinite. The Reverend Mr. Kershaw's "sin," in the eyes of the segregationists, is that he, a white, Episcopal minister from Ohio, has announced that he will give to the NAACP a portion of the $32,000 he won on a national quiz program. Action to bar Mr. Kershaw will be attempted in the state legislature this month. So far, school officials have not withdrawn the invitation; and earlier, the Mississippi Senate of the Youth Congress adopted a resolution opposing a state law which calls for screening speakers at state institutions and rejecting those "with pronouncements contrary to the Mississippi way of life."

Despite a deluge of protest, the Jones County Junior College football team in Mississippi played in the Junior Rose Bowl in California against a team with Negro players. However, radio station WJDX dropped the scheduled broadcast of the game when the Mississippi Power and Light Company abandoned its previous decision to sponsor the broadcast. Then too, much of the Mississippi fund support to send the band to California was withdrawn. The game was played, however, and the Jones College band was on hand to support the team.

In other activity in Mississippi, J. L. Enochs, district director of the Federal

Internal Revenue Department, sent a memorandum to federal employees in his office, which read:

"It has come to my attention that some doubt has arisen in the minds of employees as to whether it is permissible to become members of the organization known as 'Citizens' Council' in Mississippi.

"For the information of everyone concerned, and in order to avoid any misunderstanding, membership in this organization or active participation in any of its activities is prohibited."

The memorandum, of course, drew fire from the Citizens' Councils; and the federal office in Washington, D. C., has been asked for a ruling on whether federal employees may join either the Citizens' Council or the NAACP.

PRO AND CON IN N. C.

In North Carolina, a Negro woman was "bounced" from a white Baptist church in rural Franklin County in front of which hangs a "welcome" sign. The state also showed other signs of backwardness when Rep. W. W. Taylor, general counsel and executive secretary of the Advisory Committee on Education, recommended that local school advisory committees be suspended because "circumstances have changed to such an extent that further local committee action at the present time is inadvisable." This suggestion drew criticism from most of the state's leading newspapers and from some school superintendents.

All activity in the state was not negative, however. The faculty of the Women's College of the University of North Carolina adopted, 95 to 25, a resolution stating, in part, "We believe that qualified students of any race can be incorporated satisfactorily into the University of North Carolina . . . and to this end we pledge our efforts to meeting our professional responsibilities in order that the university may better serve all people of the state." The resolution followed by a few weeks a similar one adopted, 25 to 0, by the school's Student Council.

SCIENCE AND SEGREGATION

Meeting in Atlanta, the council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science voted 73 to 12 to take a mail ballot of all council members on a resolution that would keep the organization from holding other annual conventions in cities where racial segregation is practiced. Previously, the National Association of Science Writers, the Council for Advancement of Negroes in Science, and the American Association of Scientific Workers had approved and submitted resolutions to the AAAS asking that the group not meet in segregated cities.

"HIGH TIME"

In an atmosphere such as the one which prevails in the deep South today, it is especially good when leaders speak out for right and justice. Heartening is the recent statement by Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, in which he said:

"I have always in my life felt that citizens of our country, regardless of race, creed, background or religion, should have full equality in education, business, political participation, in government and every other respect.

"The Supreme Court decision is the law of the land, and I think it is high time that intelligent people of both races should get together and work out ways and means of carrying out the decision.

"I think . . . we ought to have more effort to bring about understanding and respect of one race of the other.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"We are accused of a calloused regard of the courts where Negroes are concerned and then in our resentment reveal the amazing and contradictory position of proving that we are guilty of what we are accused."—from an editorial in the McCombs, Mississippi *Enterprise-Journal.*

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"Rightly or wrongly, the color line ended in athletics on a national scale some years ago and the governor of Georgia is powerless to change that situation. The results of his effort to go beyond segregation in schools and extend it to football indicate that while many Southerners resent and resist desegregation in the schools, they are not ready to try to push the color line further back than in practice it has been. Also he has demonstrated that there are limits even in the South to political appeals to racial hysteria."—From an editorial in the Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer.*

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"You just don't realize how crazy people are to join."—Harry William Pyle, founder of Pro-Southerners, a pro-segregation group with headquarters in Florida.

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"We should open our doors to all qualified people because we believe in democracy, the principle of Christianity and the manifestation of the ideals of a university. Segregation is wrong."—From an editorial in the *Duke Chronicle*, student newspaper at Duke University.

"It seems to us in all good conscience that in recent weeks our people are hearing too much about too many alternatives . . . there is no adequate alternative for the church or for a happy home. And there is no adequate alternative for the free public school in North Carolina. Private schools can never promise for all the children even a token of educational equality."—From the News Bulletin of the North Carolina Association.

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"I call on Christian laymen and Christian ministers alike to join in producing in Georgia an atmosphere for freedom of speech on the segregation question. . . . freedom of speech is not denied by law; it is now denied by fear.

"Honest, intelligent Christian citizens of this state differ in their attitudes toward segregation. This fact calls for freedom of discussion of these differences. At the moment, however, free discussion is curbed by fear of reprisals — social and economic reprisals. School teachers, trained in a tradition of academic freedom, find themselves dependent on budgetary appropriations controlled by politicians. Business leaders pray over these problems in our pews but carefully avoid open personal commitments for quite understandable reasons. Let those of us of the ministry confess that unless we know we are supported by laymen who believe in the freedom of the pulpit, we find it easy to preach on other, less controversial, themes. . . .

"I simply do not believe that the Christian people of Georgia want this atmosphere of fear to continue. I call on Christian laymen and Christian ministers alike to join in producing in Georgia an atmosphere for freedom of speech on the segregation question."—Dow Kirkpatrick, past president of the Georgia Council of Churches.